1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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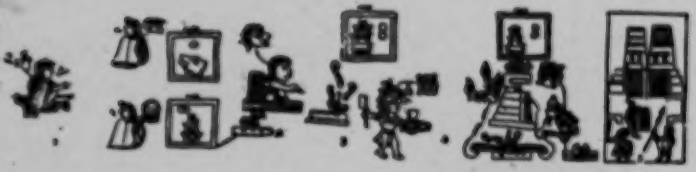

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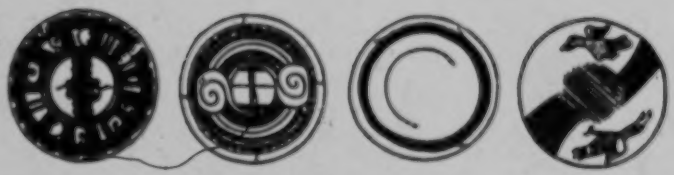

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PLATE 29

CHART SHOWING NATURE OF AZTEC ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

The Row: Excerpts from historical picture manuscripts. 1. Arrival of the nations, in 1300, who brought a knowledge of writing (Mapa Quinatzin); 2. New Fire Ceremony of 1403; 3. New Fire Ceremony of 1455; 4. New Fire Ceremony of 1507 (2-4 from Codex Telleriano-Remensis); 5. The capture of Tenochtitlan in 1519 (Codex of 1576). Second Row: Last three constructions at Tenayuca, corresponding perhaps to the cyclical renovations of 1403, 1455 and 1507. Third Row: *First three*, Aztec pottery, Types II, IIIa, IIIb, found respectively in the cyclical dumps for 1403, 1455, 1507, and a *fourth* type, IV, made from 1507 through the Spanish Conquest of 1520-21. Fourth Row: *First row*, Aztec figurines made prior to 1403. *Last four*, made between 1403 and the Conquest, representing Xochiquetzal, Xipe, Xochipilli and Tonantzin respectively.

[p. 96(A)]

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The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

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of pottery, and in the chapters in Indian history we have seen how every tribe, almost every village, had its own particular style, which changed gradually through slow shifts in the popular taste as time wore on. In the absence of written records the archaeologists fortunately have been able to rely on pottery styles to peg out in time and space the relationships of these ancient and forgotten tribes and thus lay a basis for New World history.[14]

The Aztecs, like all the other New World peoples, did not use the potter's wheel but built up their vessels with strips of clay, relying on their keen eye and sensitive fingers to achieve the desired shape. They did not use molds to form their vessels, as was occasionally done in late Teotihuacan times; nor, apparently, did they make use of the *kabal*, a block on which Yucatecan potters rested their vessels and which they turned with their feet in shaping the raw clay.

The Aztecs had an abundance of finely textured clay, orange after firing, from which they fashioned vessels for the storage and service of food. The potters of Culhuacan used this ware first, making plates with flat bottoms resting on cylindrical legs.[15] On the floors they painted curvilinear designs which were sometimes faintly naturalistic. In the second period, when the manufacture of this ware became popular all over the northern Valley, the vessels were made more coarsely, and the hollow legs degenerated to thick, elongated cones.[16] The decoration was converted into an abstract combination of curvilinear *motifs* that had the quality of European script writing. In contrast to the usual rectilinear quality of Middle American design, it may be more than a coincidence that the introduction of this style at the beginning of the fourteenth century was contemporaneous

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with the traditional date of the diffusion of picture writing by the peoples from the Mixteca. (See Plate 29, third row.)

The third phase of this style, made during the fifteenth century, saw a gradual conversion of the linework into crude, continuous patterns, but the construction of the vessels proper was much finer.[17] A few potters rejected this slovenly manner and drew elaborate geometric designs. The closely parallel lines in some of these patterns were done freehand on the curved interior surfaces of the bowls, revealing extraordinary control in draftsmanship. Perhaps in trade, perhaps in tribute, many foreign vases were introduced at this time and stimulated the local potters to develop new styles of their own.

In the fourth period, during the chieftaincy of Montezuma, the potters broke away from these extremes of concentrated meticulousness and slovenly linework. Naturalism found favor, with birds, fish and plants used as designs and executed with that careless finesse of brushwork which characterizes Japanese sepia drawing. After the Conquest draftsmen accustomed to working in this style were able to copy accurately such elements of Spanish design as the double eagle of Charles V and the coats of arms of nobles.[18] (See Plate 32, top.)

Polychrome pottery was made locally, usually consisting of a red slip, or wash, adorned with a geometric design in black and white. Coarse construction with painfully careful, if crude, draftsmanship characterized the fourteenth-century ware. In the fifteenth century the hands of the potters loosened so that they were able to paint more sophisticated designs on vessels as thin and delicate as any pottery ever made in the Americas. Trade wares were rare at first and

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chants survive without, alas, the musical notation. These dancers, acting out mythical events pertaining to the lives of the gods, must usually have been highly theatrical. Thus as with other peoples of the past, religious service fulfilled the function of the drama.[19] (See Plate 62, bottom left.)

The pictographic writing of the Aztecs was too simple to record a literature. However, the many references to oratory and the wealth of allusions and synonyms referring to the gods and goddesses give a picture of rich fantasy and poetic imagination. The emphasis on the spoken word, the complex background of the religion, the closeness of the supernatural world, would not have produced lean, accurate prose. Rather a semipoetic, highly symbolic verbiage came from the practice of oratory and the chanting of prayers. Thus a rhythmic and rich verbosity existed as a form of polite address that, given a system of writing, might have been transmuted into literature.[20]

These activities, which we sanction in our own culture under the terms of arts and letters and to the practitioners of which we assign honor as creative artists, were existent in Aztec society. The status of these practices, however, was very different from their position in our own culture. Much of that area of our own life divided up into the infinite gradation of commercial, legal and governmental pursuits fell within the span of the individual Aztec's normal social life. That energy and activity which we exhaust in religion, art, belles-lettres and science was combined by the Aztecs in the observance of their religious requirements. The nature of their religion and its position in Aztec life and social practice are fundamental to a realization of the nature of their culture.

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PLATE 59

AZTEC RELIEF

TOP: *Left:* Tlaloc, God of Rain. *Right:* Quetzalcoatl, God of Learning, in guise of Ehecatl, God of Wind. BOTTOM: Page from *Tonalamatl* of Codex Borbonicus. The goddess Itzpapalotl, presiding over the fifteenth week, One House, is shown in the large division. The broken tree signifies Tamoanchan, a legendary homeland; the house below, with a man on top and the night sign in the door and the spider above, signifies the realm of darkness. The other symbols are offerings. The rectangular divisions refer to the days and their Gods. The day signs and numbers begin at the lower left with One House and end at top left with Thirteen Eagle. A Night God is drawn in each day square, beginning with Piltzintecuhtli and ending with Chalchihuitlicue (Table XVI, 194). The squares above the bottom row and to the right of the vertical row reveal the Gods of the Day Hours and their birds, beginning at the left with Xiuhtecuhtli and ending at the top with Ilamatecuhtli (Table XV).

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776

[p. 176 (C)]

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FIG. 1. AZTEC DAY SIGNS FROM CODEX

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cipactli* Crocodile | *Ehecatl* Wind | *Calli* House | *Cuetzpallin* Lizard | *Coatl* Snake |
| *Miquiztli* Death | *Mazatl* Deer | *Tochtli* Rabbit | *Atl* Water | *Itzcuintli* Dog |
| *Ozomatli* Monkey | *Malinalli* Herb | *Acatl* Reed | *Ocelotl* Jaguar | *Cuauhtli* Eagle |
| *Cozcaquauhtli* Vulture | *Ollin* Motion | *Tecpatl* Flint Knife | *Quiauitl* Rain | *Xochitl* Flower |

finement whereby the nine gods and goddesses succeeded each other in governing the nights of the *tonalpohualli*, or sacred period (Table XVI). Finally thirteen of these gods influenced the thirteen stations of the Aztec day (Table XV), and nine held sway over the night hours (Table XVI). The names and characters of these divinities are set forth in the accompanying tables.

The array of gods had to be placated and honored at the appropriate time by the priesthood; but the individual, before embarking on an undertaking, could find out the proper 796

[Text continues on p. 195.--- Analyst]

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divinity to appease on the date of that undertaking. It is improbable that the ordinary communicant daily honored each god any more than a Catholic layman prays daily to each saint in the calendar. He did reverence in terms of his own spiritual and actual necessity.

A number of the *tonalamatl* have survived. These reference books for priestly guidance are made of paper beaten from the bark of the amate or wild-fig tree, although some post-Conquest copies were composed of European paper. An ancient book consisted of a long paper strip which was prepared and coated to take paint and subsequently folded screenwise to permit easy handling. Occasionally only one but usually the two open pages were devoted to each week. A large colored drawing depicted the divinity controlling the week, and other figures represented subsidiary gods and objects connected with their worship, such as thorns, incense burners, altars, and the like. The rest of the space was ruled off into squares, in which were painted the requisite thirteen day names and numbers, the gods and goddesses associated with each and occasionally their *nahuals*, the bird or animal forms which the divinities could assume. Obviously only the initiate could make use of this information, which existed in the form of pictures without an explanatory text. However, it is the great good fortune of Mexicanists that some of the friars after the Conquest annotated a few of these manuscripts according to the explanations of Indian informants.* (See Plate 59, top.)

The great Aztec ceremonies, however, took place in accordance with the solar year, composed of eighteen months of twenty days and a five-day period which was considered unlucky (Table XVII). The months had names having to do

[Text continues on p. 198.--- Analyst]

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growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action." (See Fig. 2.)

Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

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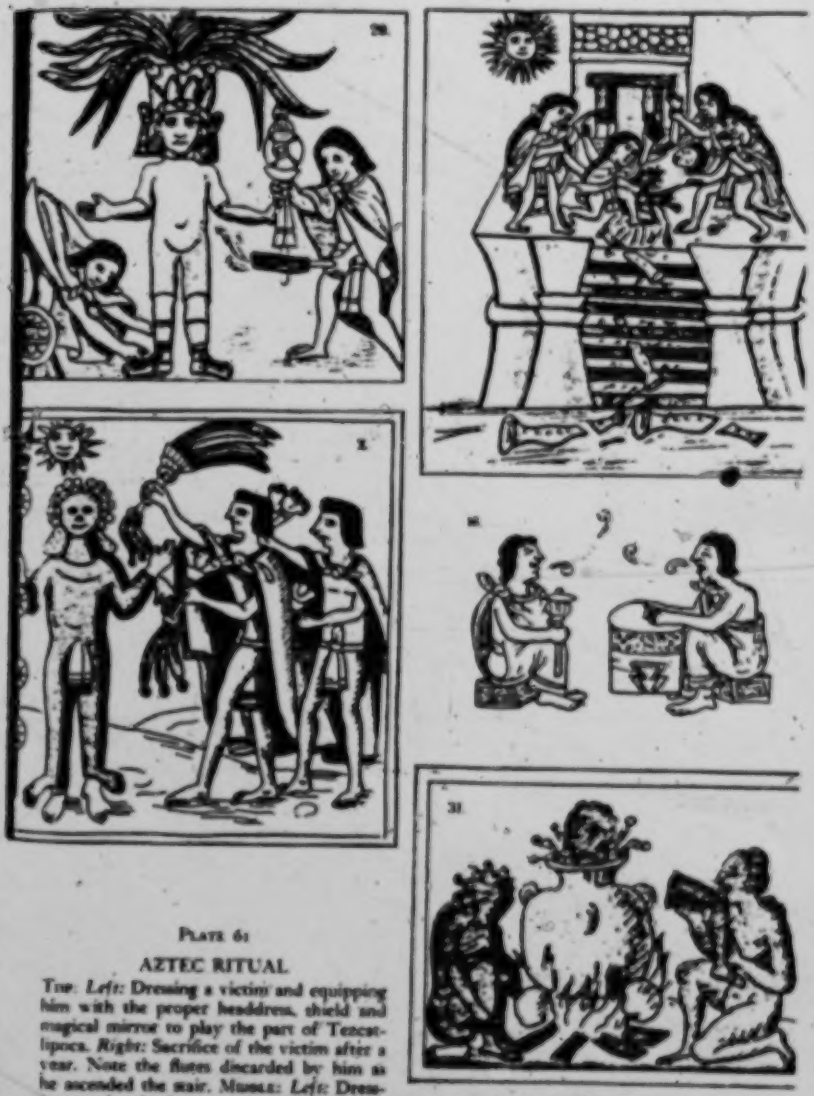

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PLATE 61

## AZTEC RITUAL

TOP: *Left:* Dressing a victim and equipping him with the proper headdress, shield and magical mirror to play the part of Tezcatlipoca. *Right:* Sacrifice of the victim after a year. Note the flutes discarded by him as he ascended the stair. MIDDLE: *Left:* Dressing a priest in the costume of Xipe, the Flayed God, who wears a human skin. *Right:* Musicians with rattle and skin-covered drum, *huehuetl*. BOTTOM: *Right:* Ceremonial cannibalism. The Codex Florentino artist had obviously never taken part in such a feast, fairly common before the Conquest.

[p. 208(A)]

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PLATE 62

## AZTEC RECORDS

TOP: *Left:* Conquests of Moctezuma II; see Plate 63 for method of reading (Tellerian-Remensis). MIDDLE: *Left:* The migration of the Aztec tribes. They leave an island by boat and reach a hill with a cave, where Huitzilopochtli lives. They divide into several migrant groups. The list here includes, from top to bottom, Matlatzincas, Tepanecas, Chichimecas, Malinalcas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas, Chalcas and Huexotzincas (Codex Boturnini). *Right:* Meeting of Montezuma, Cortes, and Marina (Lienzo de Tlaxcala). BOTTOM: *Left:* Monthly Ceremony (Codex Borbonicus). *Right:* Tribute Roll (Codex Mendoza).

[p. 208(B)]

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PLATE 63

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis describes the period from 1424-39. The cartouches give the year names, indicating the succession of the four days with the thirteen numbers. The sequence may be readily followed: Ten Knife, Eleven House, Twelve Rabbit, Thirteen Reed, One Knife, Two House, etc. The death of Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield) is recorded for the year Twelve Rabbit (1426), as is the accession of Itzcoatl (Snake of Knives). Each ruler is designated by his hieroglyph. The defeat of Maxtla (Breech Clout) is depicted as well as an eclipse of the sun shown by the disk obscured by a stone. The figures and descriptions were inserted after the Conquest by two priests (to judge from the handwriting), who made use of native informants. (Compare Plate 62, *top left*.)

[p. 208(C)]

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PLATE 64

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) 2 royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 402 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and treelike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

[p. 208(D)]

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[23] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

●212 177 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

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such as tax rolls, lawsuits, and the like, so that the Indians could understand the Spanish legal code and present their complaints.[28] Friar Nicolas Tester even made an attempt to shift the picture writing over to syllabic writing—the effect of the Lord's Prayer in Aztec glyphs is startling.[29] This was too cumbersome a plan and was soon abandoned for the recording of Nahuatl words in Roman characters. However, it is due to this usage of Aztec pictographs that so much survives of the records, many of which, with their oral accompaniment, were copied into Roman characters both in Spanish and Nahuatl. From these we derive such knowledge as we have of Aztec history and customs. (See Plate 44.)

The drawback of picture writing is its rigidity and its uselessness for the expression of abstract ideas. The cyclical count created great confusion as to the particular cycle in which an event took place. Exact and careful drawing was essential for the glyphs, and a slurred line might result in a totally different reading. However, the worst feature of Aztec history is its provincialism, for the scribes saw things only in terms of the tribe and took no heed of internal events in other communities. The picture writings show how communal interests extended vertically, as it were, from the tribe to the pantheon. There is no reflection of a horizontal interest outward to the lives and occupations of other peoples. The attitude of the Aztec communities to foreign affairs merits a chapter in itself.

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FIGS. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sits in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
695 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
●[212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toqual. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
565 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacoc, committed

vncan caquitiloia tlatoque atle quicnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica quixpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in audiencia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlat..que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlae imjxpan moteilhujaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuraca, in quicaquja in jnneteilhujl maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in qujpoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiliaia, qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machiceque, in tlanelitilianj, in qujmachilia moteilhuique, in tlein qujmocujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhuja.

Auh in tlatoanj, intla itla qujnmachili in iehoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecana, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie uetzujtl, anoço ie nauhxiujtl qujnemjtia in amo uel qujtzontecuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoaiolcaiotl: njman qujmjlpia, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujtzacutiuj, qujmjctia, injc mauhca ierque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuçuma, mjiec tlamantli in qujnmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, iztlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinquj, tlatilulco in amo melauac qujchioaia in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi, quauhcalco qujntlali, qujtzacutiaque, qujnmjcti.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan tajtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacaoan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla qujmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepacholo tetica mjquj

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacoc tetlaxi in oconteixpaoaique in-

---

5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "audien hall"—"sala real."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 267, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, donde ordinariamente por las mañanas; determinados de cuatro horas, donde cuentan diariamente á los jueces supremos.*" Clark, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four seated figures behind the judges, called *tecuhtli*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that at times they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the *Mendoza Codex*.)

7. Tlacatl, pilli, tecpilli: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. Tlaçopilli: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.



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6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tenacacocatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhtli,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned calli, in vncan icnque, in vncā tetlatzontequjlinque, 643
in vncan quicaquiqoc in jxquich tlamātli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncā tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca quitzontequja intenetcilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca quicaquja, in jnetcilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oquichipeuhque, in oquiectilique netcilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan quitlalia, injc vmpa quitquj tlacxitlan in jpā quinditapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 565 [344] 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica injc quitquj in tlatoanj injc 695
ichoanti quitzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcat, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ichoantin, y, in tecutlatoque quinemjliaia, quichiquja, quipetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, quintemoaia in machicoque, in tlanchilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujcilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlalilloc.

Auh intla aca quitlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujx, 693
njman quimjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achicacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin quimjctia, quimecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan quititepachoa, anoço quitzontequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotilos.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia, in maçoc- 643
listli, in papaqujlistli, injc quimellaquaoa, injc quinjoillalia, in jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tlacaboan: ioan in jxquich in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçoalli:

achtopa quitoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz 643
quipanaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc quichecoaque injc 533
quichicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los unos, muy diligentemente, y graues, llamandos el uno: para que los entendiesse juntamente con todos principales, muy cuidadosos, que eran el audiencia, y residencia."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears as ejoaoacatl. The title Tlacochcalcatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can dispir: que is probably meant (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhtli: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 201, 288; II, pp. 310, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 53.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[a] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[b]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

#### CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

#### FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
2,000 vessels of white salt**

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[c] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[a] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[b] In Tlachinoltepec, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[c] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se hase de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan cogos con que senbo-

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."[32] However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titlmilpa (1),[33] and Zimapan (12).[34]

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Acaxochitla* may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas.

*Titlmilpa* seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.[35] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

[32] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[33] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tlecululi ycatzla san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[34] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoçimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[35] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[86] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the verv Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[87] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

*Regional names.*—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[88] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[89] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[90] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[91]

[86] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[87] Cf. n. 35 above.
[88] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[89] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[90] Corrected from 400.
[91] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

## TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze-Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Tóscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles" of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust; each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates; "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

*Tribute of the component towns.*—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton." In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove."

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" Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

" *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

" *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarteuta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

— — Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

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212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme*, 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

*Fig. 2.* Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

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231
312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

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pre-Conquest (Spinden, 1933). Some lacustrine scenes (if that is what they are) are reproduced on Plate II from the Codex Nuttall, published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1908.

As may be seen in the case of *Acocolco,* "twisted water" (Figure 3 B), the glyph for water is compound, and its several elements reappear in other contexts. Essentially it consists of a stream, painted

*Fig. 3.* Some Aztec place-name glyphs referring to water, lakes, and salt, redrawn by Martha Dimock from the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938). A, Hueyapán, "on the lake" (*ueiatl,* lake + *pantli,* banner, ideograph for *pan,* on) (Clark's no. 192). B, *Acocolco,* "twisted water" (*atl,* water + *cocoloa,* to go by twisting and turning) (Clark's no. 352). C, Acozpan, "yellow water" (*atl,* water + *coztic,* yellow) (Clark's no. 578). D, Xalac, "sandy water" (*xalla,* sandy + *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 355). E, Atlán, "near the water" (*atl,* water + *tlanti,* teeth, ideograph for *tlan,* place of) (Clark's no. 606). F, Chilacachapán, "place of *chilacaxtli*" (*chili* + *acaxitl,* small lake, ideograph for *chilacaxtli, Azolla* sp.; combined with *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 430). G, Tequixquiac, "saltpeter water" (*tequixquitl,* saltpeter + *atl,* water) (Clark's no. 16). H, Zilán, "shells" (Clark's no. 116). I, Tamazolan, "toad" (Clark's no. 517). J, Iztatlán, "near the salt" (*iztatl,* salt + *tlantli,* teeth, ideograph for *tlan,* near) (Clark's no. 161). K, Iztacalco, "salt house" (Clark's no. 232). L, Ayotlán, "turtle" (Clark's no. 360). M, Tollán, "cattails" (Clarks's no. 66). N, Chalco, "jewel" (*chalchihuitl,* jadeite + *co,* in).

turquoise-blue, with eddies and waves. At the tips of the waves, usually in alternation, the Aztec glyph shows two sorts of symbols, and these alone may represent water, as in *Acozpan,* "yellow water" (3C). One of these is a shell, and reappears by itself in *Zilán* (3H). The other, though interpreted as a drop by Clark, is almost certainly a precious

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stone, *chalchiuhtl*, and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl*, which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva*, judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura*, which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin*. The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilacachapán* (3F), "place of

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*chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli*, teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes*, though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone*, whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

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and in the 1556 Ramusio edition of the "Anonymous Conqueror") are obviously imaginary, it may be said that the Boturini picture is possibly the oldest surviving map of a New World lake, and it is ironic that we cannot say what lake it represents.

About this famous picture all that can be said with confidence is that it shows a lake with an island. The island is universally identified as *Aztlán*, the legendary home of the Aztecs, yet the glyph at the top

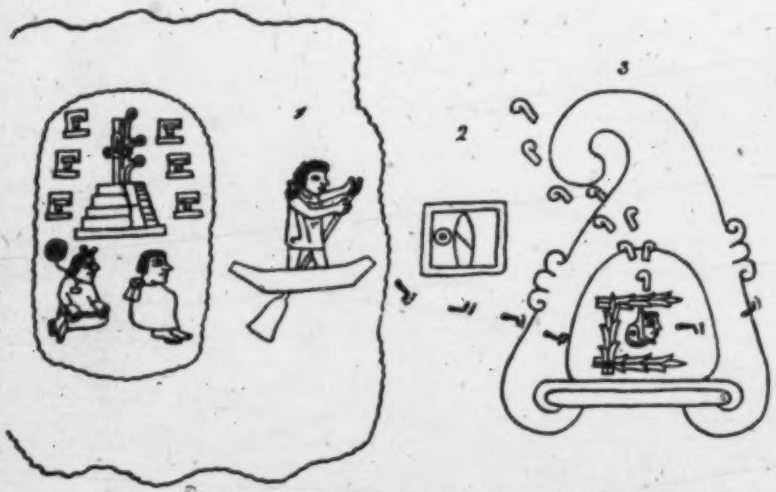


*Fig. 4.* Origin of the Aztecs, from the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini). The town, here labelled *Aacatl*, but identified by authorities as *Aztlán*, is situated on an island in a lake, presumably in western Mexico.

designates it as *Aacatl* (*atl*, water + *acatl*, reed). *Aacatl* turns up on a later page as a personal name, and it may indeed be the name of the male figure at the right of the island, for he is otherwise nameless, though his female companion is named *Matlalin*, from *matlatl*, a fish-net. It would be idle sport to list all the places that Aztlán is supposed to have been; Orozco y Berra (1880, p. 66–68) considered it to be the island of Mexcalli in Lake Chapala, while Seler (n.d.) rejected all the legendary wanderings of the Aztecs in western Mexico and brought Aztlán, full circle, back to the Valley of Mexico itself. Escalona (1943) argues with some plausibility for the lake of Metztitlán, in Hidalgo, while Rendón (1948), with even greater plausibility, prefers the lake at the headwaters of the Río Lerma, just west of the Valley. The truth is that the Aztlán part of the Aztecs' history appears full-blown in the circle of Jesuit histories stemming from the Dominican Durán, while

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*Plate II.*

*Top:* No. 75 from the Codex Nuttall (Nuttall, 1902), a pre-Conquest Mixtec pictorial manuscript on deerhide, depicting (according to Vaillant, 1941) "warriors attacking a town in a lake".

*Below:* No. 36 from the Codex Nuttall, possibly depicting two lacustrine scenes, but more probably to be interpreted as place names containing "lake" or "water" in their etymologies. The pictures at the right are surely some sort of rebus containing "water" as in the Aztec system. Note, in the "water" symbol, that all the waves bear jewels, while the shells (with viscera) are shown in midstream. Compare the Aztec *Acocolco* (Fig. 4, B).

[End plate II a]

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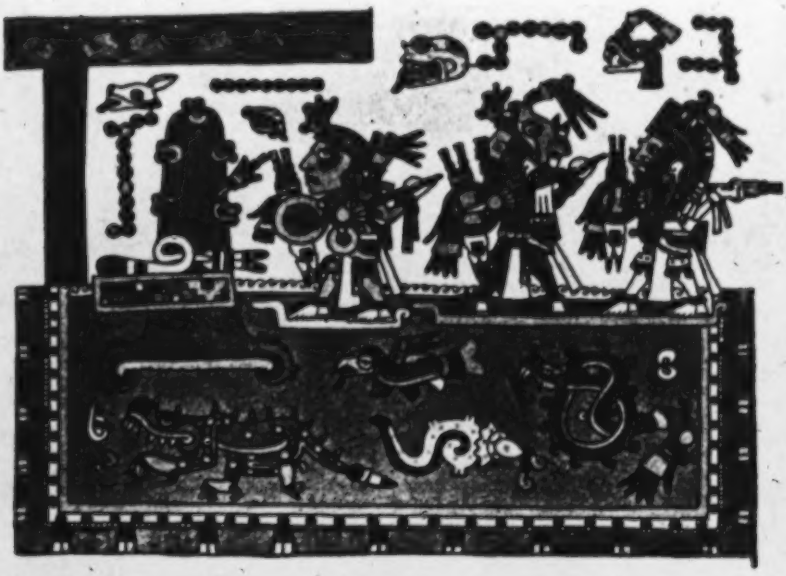

[End plate II b]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 314] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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346 blood of the Indians whom they sacrificed, when it was more than a thousand years ago that they built and made it? The answer I give to this is that after we took that great and strong city, and the sites were apportioned, it was then proposed that in [the place of] that great *Cue* we should build a church to our patron and guide Señor Santiago, and a great part of the site of the great temple of Huichilobos was occupied by the site of the holy church, and when they opened the foundations in order to strengthen them, they found much gold and silver and chalchihuites and pearls and seed pearls and other stones. And a settler in Mexico who occupied another part of the same site found the same things, and the officers of His Majesty's treasury demanded them saying that they belonged by right to His Majesty, and there was a lawsuit about it. I do not remember what happened except that they sought information from the Caciques and Chieftains of Mexico, and from Guatémoc, who was then alive, and they said that it was true that all the inhabitants of Mexico at that time cast into the foundations those jewels and all the rest of the things, and that so it was noted in their books and pictures of ancient things, and from this cause those riches were preserved for the building of the holy church of Santiago. [212]

Let us leave this and speak of the great and splendid Courts which were in front of the [temple of] Huichilobos, where now stands [the church of] Señor Santiago, which was called Tlaltelolco, for so they were accustomed to call it.

I have already said that there were two walls of masonry [which had to be passed] before entering, and that the court was paved with white stones, like flagstones, carefully whitewashed and burnished and clean, and it was as large and as broad as the plaza of Salamanca. A little way

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delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great Caciques from distant lands came before him about boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

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After, as I have said, they had set off to inspect the mines, let me go back to say how the great Montezuma gave our Captain a hennequen cloth, on which were painted and marked very true to nature, all the rivers and bays on the Northern coast from Panuco to Tabasco, that is for a matter of one hundred and forty leagues, and the river of Coatzacoalcos was marked on it. As we already knew all the harbours and bays marked on the cloth which Montezuma gave to Cortés, from the time we came on the voyage of discovery with Grijalva, except the river of Coatzacoalcos, which they said was very strong and deep, Cortés determined to send and see what it was like, and to take soundings of the harbour and the entrance. One of our captains named Diego de Ordás, a very prudent and valiant man, who has often been mentioned by me, said to our Captain that he would like to go and see that river, and what sort of country there was there, and what the people were like, and asked for Indian Chieftains to go with him, and Cortés had refused, because he was a man of good counsel and he wished to keep him in his company. However, so as not to displease him, he [now] granted him leave to go. Montezuma told Ordás that his authority did not extend over Coatzacoalcos, that the people there were very bold, and that he should take care what he was about, and if anything happened to him, they must not blame him [Montezuma] for it; that before arriving at that province he would come on the garrison of warriors he kept on the border, and that if he [Ordás] had need of them he might take them with him, and he [Montezuma] paid him many compliments besides. Cortés and Diego de Ordás gave him their thanks, and Ordás set out with two soldiers and some chieftains whom Montezuma sent with him.

This is where the historian Francisco Lopez Gomara says that Juan Velásquez with one hundred soldiers went to form a settlement at Coatzacoalcos, and that Pedro de

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



a democratic organization. Its business lay in the hands of elective chiefs:—"old men," promoted to that dignity, as we intend to prove in a subsequent paper, for their merits and experience, and after severe religious ordeals. These chiefs formed the council of the kin or quarter, but their authority was not absolute since on all important occasions a general meeting of the kindred was convened.[92] The council in turn selected an executive, the "calpullec" or "chinancallec" who, in war, officiated as "achcacauhtin" or "teachcauhtin" (elder brother).[93]—This office was for life or during good behavior.[94] It was one of his duties to keep a reckoning of the soil of the calpulli, or "calpulalli," together with a record of its members, and of the areas assigned to each family,—and to note also whatever changes occurred in their distribution.[95] Such changes, if unimportant, might be made by him;

[92] Zurita (pp. 60, 61, 62). Ramirez de Fuenleal ("Letter, etc." Ternaux-Compans, p. 249).

[93] Zurita (p. 60). "The calpulli have a chief taken necessarily from among the tribe, he must be one of the principal inhabitants, an able man who can assist and defend the people. The election takes place among them. . . . The office of this chief is not hereditary; when any one dies, they elect in his place the most respected old man. . . . If the deceased has left a son who is able the choice falls upon him, and a relative of the former incumbent is always preferred" (Id. pp 50 and 222). Simancas M. S. S. ("De l'ordre de succession, etc.;" "Recueil," p. 225). "As to the mode of regulating the jurisdiction and election of the alcaldes and regidors of the villages, they nominated men of note who had the title of achcacaulitin. . . . . There were no other elections of officers . . ." "Art of War, etc." (pp. 119 and 120).

[94] Zurita (pp. 60 and 61). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, cap. 125). "I le elegian entre si y tenian por maior."

[95] Zurita (pp. 61 and 62). "This chief has charge of the lands of the calpulli. It is his duty to defend their possession. He keeps paintings showing the tracts, the names of their holders, the situation, the limits, the number of men tilling them, the wealth of private individuals, the designations of such as are vacant, of others that belong to the Spaniards, the date of donation, to whom and by whom they were given. These paintings he constantly renews, according to the changes occurring, and in this they are very skilful." It is singular that Motolinia, in his "Epistola proémial" ("Col. de Doc.:" Icazbalceta, Vol. I, p. 5), among the five "books of paintings" which he says the Mexicans had, makes no mention of the above. Neither does he notice it in his letter dated Cholula 27 Aug., 1554 ("Recueil de pièces, etc.," Ternaux-Compans). Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304) says, "porque primeramente demandaban la pintura en que estaban escritas ó pintadas las causas, como haziendas, casas, ó maizales" (Id. cap. XXV, p. 314). This tends to prove the existence of such paintings. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 135). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VIII, p. 546), "and in order to prevent any confusion in these lands they painted them on long strips ("lienzos") in the following manner. The lands of the calpules light yellow, those of the principals flesh-red, and the lands of the Kings income of a fiery red color,—so that, on opening one of these rolls, the entire pueblo, its limits and outlines could be seen at a glance." This is another confirmation of our views about the distribution of the soil, and the fact that the two latter classes had but different shades of red, is somewhat significant. See Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV), who confirms. The explanation of Zurita covers the whole ground, however, and explains both of the last statements.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



685 671 217 In the above review of those offences and their punishments, immediately connected with that rule of tribal society which places the persons and property of the members of a kin under that kin's special protection, we cannot pretend to have furnished more than illustrations, and not at all a full catalogue. Still, enough has been told, we believe, to explain what is frequently styled the "penal code" of the ancient Mexicans. It is well known, that no actual written laws existed, but on the other hand, at the time of the Spanish conquest, the natives still had a large number of paintings which represented their own manners and customs. Since a considerable proportion of these picture-leaves bore on the same subjects, the inference could be easily drawn that they indicated forms for the guidance of the people, or in other words, that they were a substitute for a written code. This was not at all their object. They were simply efforts of native art intended to represent scenes of everyday life, since these were the most handy subjects for such purposes. Therefore such pictures are to be regarded as convenient remains of aboriginal art, out of which many details concerning aboriginal customs may be gathered, but not as "official" sources, from which to seek information as to the "law of the land."[141]

plata y oro lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban al dios de los plateros, que llamaban Xipe, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delito contra el dios fingido." This sacrifice to one particular Idol, however, is neither mentioned by Torquemada nor by his predecessor and main source, Mendieta. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 487) copies Vetancurt almost textually. So does *Ortega* (Vol. III, p. 225, Appendix to *Veytiais* "*Hist. Antigua*"). *Bustamante* ("*Texcoco*," p. 196) copies the former again. Still it is singular that the older the source, that is, the nearer in date to the time of the conquest, the less positive it is on the point of sacrifice. It will be safe to admit that the criminal was killed for a crime committed against worship, without insisting upon a particular place or mode of punishment.

[141] Elsewhere ("*On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*," in Vol. XXVII of the "*Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science*," 1878) I have attempted a discussion of the nature of Mexican paintings, and of their value as sources of history. I will add here but two positive declarations, on the subjects of the paintings, which I had not noticed at the time the above paper was read at St. Louis, Missouri, Aug., 1878. *Juan de Solorzano-Pereyra* ("*Disputationem de Indiarum Jure*." 1629, Vol. I, Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 331, § 96): "Quod de Phœnicibus tradit etiam Lucanus. et in Mexicanis nostris experti fuimus, qui si non litteris, imaginibus tamen, et figuris ea omnia, quæ sibi memoranda videbantur, significabant, et conservabant." The other is of recent date, being taken from a discourse delivered before the "Academia Mexicana." by my friend Señor *D. J. G. Icazbalceta* ("*Las Bibliotecas de Eguiara y de Beristain*," p. 353 of No. 4. Vol. I, of "*Memorias de la Academia*"): "El antiguo pueblo que ocupaba este suelo no conocia las letras, y con eso está dicho que no podia tener escritores ni literatura. Su imperfectisimo sistema de representar los objetos é ideas, tenia que limitarse á satisfacer, hasta donde podia, las necesidades más urgentes de la sociedad, sin aspirar á otra cosa. Asi es que no se empleaba sino en registrar los tributos de los pueblos, en señalar los limites de las

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment. 681

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to 697

heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion, y en contribuir á conservar la memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio." [a.a]

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 472), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304. Cap. XXI, p. 309) mentions "jails" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los recogian y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 85): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delictos."

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646 the critical period of Cortés' first stay at Tenuchtitlan, the twenty "speakers" held daily meetings at the official house.[185]

In a society based upon kin we cannot expect a clear division of the powers of government, particularly as there were no written laws,[186] and custom alone ruled. The functions of the ancient Mexican council were not properly legislative, but they were rather *directive* and *judicial* combined. One of its first duties was, however, to maintain harmony among the kins.

The twenty independent social units composing the Mexican tribe, while bound together by the necessity of mutual aid to secure territorial independence, could not be expected always to live in peace with one another. Difficulties would necessarily arise between kin and kin, and to prevent such disputes from leading to actual warfare,[187] the council as a body of *official arbitrators* was needed.

618 646 695 According to the rules of kinship, the calpulli was not only bound to avenge any wrongs suffered by one of its members, but it was also responsible for the offences committed by the kinfolk towards any outsider.[188] Hence theft committed outside of the

*Durán* (cap. X, p. 83. XI. pp. 107, 108. 109, XIV, pp. 117, 123. XVI, p. 132, XVIII, p. 156), etc., etc. We forbear further quotations, since they would be too numerous. All go to prove that the council was frequently called together between the times of regular meeting. Quotations from *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*") are useless, since they are very numerous and agree with those of Durán in the main. The fact of irregular meetings of the council having been called during the conquest, is further proven by *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. III. p. 7). and *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XIV, p. 383).

[185] *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdaderu*," Vedia, Vol. II. cap. XCV, p. 95): "y siempre á la contina estaban en su compañia veinte grande señores y consejeros y capitanes." (Cap. XCVII, p. 99): "Ya he dicho otra vez en el capitulo que de ello habla, de la manera que entraban á negociar y el acato que el tenian, y como siempre estaban en su compañia en aquel tiempo para despachar negocios veinte hombres ancianos, que eran jueces."

[186] A number of paintings are mentioned as representing the customs and manners of the natives. Specimens of these are found in *Codex Mendoza*, Lam., 58 to 72 inclusive. But none of these contained, or could contain or express, anything like a *law*. Compare, on Mexican paintings in general and their value, "*On the Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America*," in Vol. 27 of "*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.*" Señor *Orozco y Berra* ("*Códice Mendozino,– Ensayo de descifracion geroglifica*," beginning in No. 3, of Vol. I, "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*") has commenced a publication which can be expected to shed much light on such picture-leaves, and the true position which they held among the ancient Mexicans.

[187] Conflicts between the inhabitants of different "barrios" during festive turnouts and religious gatherings could not always be prevented.

[188] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 76 and 77). *Davila Padilla* ("*Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*," Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83). The custom is general among other tribes and Mr. Morgan has adverted to it among the Maya of Yucatan and the Peruvians. It would be unnecessary display to produce further evidence: the remarkably clear statements of Mr. Morgan fully "cover the case."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL. pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaellel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaellel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quizo admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Pero no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No. 1*" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaellel pudiese traer çapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer çapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ."; (Cap. XXXII, p. 255): "Tlacaellel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ."; (Cap. LXI, p. 336), the speech of Tlacaellel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta que muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaellel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetauan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 381): "el nombre de Cinacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeça oredado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tlilpotonqui Cinalcoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



households,[314] still, on many occasions, whether festive or in the hour of need, the crops raised thereon would not be sufficient, and thus other stores were laid up and held for prudential reasons.[315] Over these stores the "Petlacalcatl" presided. This officer was, in all probability, appointed by the council, and he was accountable in the first place to the "Cihuacohuatl," who kept a register or list of the articles received as well as of their apportionment. These rude paintings on prepared skin, or tissue, have given rise to the fable that "archives" existed at the aboriginal pueblos of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[316]

The stores required for worship and for the support of the "medicine-men" were, as far as the central or tribal "house of God" was concerned, also, taken from this tribute, and assigned to the "medicine-men" according to their need. But the bulk of the tribute, presumably, went to the kins, who apportioned it among their members, after reserving the necessary quota for their government and for worship. In this manner the proceeds of tribal association finally reached the individual,— not through the tribe unless he was an outcast, but through the kin,— and thus the latter again appears as the working unit of organized society, even in the vital matter of subsistence.

The procuring of subsistence, by means of warfare, is the widest field of tribal action known to aboriginal Mexico. It links together kin and tribe, and furnishes a *raison d'être* for the highest known form of tribal society — the confederacy.

After what has been said in this and the preceding essays, it is superfluous to recur, in detail, to the confederacy formed by the three "Nahuatl" tribes, of Mexico, Tezcuco and Tlacopan. Its "articles of agreement" have been stated elsewhere; and we know the prominent position, in a military point of view, occupied by the Mexican tribe in this partnership, formed, as it was, for the purpose of war and plunder. All that remains for us to emphasize is the fact, that this inter-tribal connection in the Mexican valley did not extend further than a tri-partite association for the aforesaid purposes. There was no interference on the part of the conquerors, in the affairs of the conquered, no attempt gradually

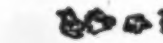
[314] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 419 and 426).

[315] See the concurrent reports about the great drouth, while "Wrathy chief who shoots arrows heavenward" ("Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina") was "chief of men."

[316] This very interesting and important question will soon be fully discussed by a very competent authority. I consequently forbear entering into any examination thereof.

## APPENDIX OF THE FOURTH BOOK, IN THE SPANISH VERNACULAR, WHICH IS JUSTIFICATION IN DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH CONTAINED HEREIN.

## APENDIZ DEL QUARTO LIBRO EN ROMĀCE Y ES VNA APPOLOGIA EN DEFENSION DA LA VERDAD QUE EN EL SE CONTIENE.



805 Because some have been deceived, and the delusion even today endureth, concerning certain [systems of] counting which these natives used in days of old, I consider it helpful to place here an explanation of three kinds of counting [systems] which they used and in some places still use.

The first count is the division of the year into its months. The fact is that they divided the year into eighteen parts, and to each part they gave twenty days. These may be called months. Thus their year had eighteen months, which comprised three hundred and sixty days. The five left over to make a full year are not counted: rather, they called them idle [177] and unlucky days, because to no god were they dedicated. The purpose for which they established this division was that they dedicated each month or [period of] twenty days to a god, and during each they held celebrations and made sacrifices; except that in two of the months they celebrated the feasts of four gods, [in each] assigning ten days to one and another ten to the other. And so, although there were eighteen months, the feasts celebrated in them were twenty. This count is called a calendar in which all the days of the year are dedicated to the gods except the five which, as is told, they considered idle and of evil fortune. This count, which is the calendar these natives had had from time immemorial, has nothing to do with the other two counts which will now be described.

805 The second count which these natives used is called the year-count, because [by it] they counted ● 212 a certain number of years in the following way. They had four characters placed in four positions with respect to a circle. One of these characters they called Ce acatl, meaning One Reed. This character was represented as a green reed, and, with reference to the circle, was to the east. The second character they called Ce tecpatl, meaning One Flint Knife. [It was] made in the manner of a lance head, half of it blood-stained. This was placed to the north with

Porque algunos se an engañado, y aun todavia dura el engaño, cerca de ciertas cuentas, que estos naturales vsauan antiguamente: tengo por cosa prouechosa poner aquj, la declaracion de tres maneras de cuentas, que vsauan, y avn en algunas partes las vsan.

Es la primera cuenta, la division del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos repartian el año, en deziocho partes, y a cada parte, le dauan veinte dias; estos se poeden llamar meses: de manera, que su año tenja deziocho meses: los quales contienen trezientos y setenta [*sic*] dias, y los cinco que sobran, para ser año cumplido, no entran en cuenta, sino llamauanlos dias baldios, y aziagos, porque a njngun dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecauan [*sic*] esta diujsion es, que cada mes o cada veinte dias, los dedicauan a un dios, y en ellos le hazian fiestas, y sacrificios, exceto que en dos meses hazian fiesta a quatro dioses, dedicando diez dias a al vno, y otros diez al otro. Y ansi con ser los meses deziocho, las fiestas que celebrauan en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta, se llama calendario, donde todos los dias del año, se dedican a los dioses, excepto los cinco que como esta dicho los tenjan baldios y aziagos. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenjan de tiempo sin memoria, no tiene que hazer, con las otras dos cuentas, que luego se dirā.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, se llama cuenta de los años, porque contauan cierto numero de años, por la forma que se sigue: tenjan quatro caracteres, puestos en quatro partes en respecto de vn circulo redondo. A al vno destos caracteres llamauā, Ce acatl, que quiere dezir, vna caña: este caracter, era como vna caña verde pintada, y en respecto del circulo, estaua hazia al oriente. Al segundo caracter, llamauan ce tecpatl, que quiere dezir vn pedernal: hecho a manera de hierro de lança tiñjdo la mjtad del con sangre: este estaua puesto

reference to the circle. The third character was the representation of a house, which they call Ce calli [One House]. It is placed to the west with reference to the circle. The fourth character is the likeness of a rabbit, which they call Ce tochtli [One Rabbit]; it is placed to the south with reference to the circle. By means of these characters they counted fifty-two years, assigning thirteen years to each character. And they counted in this manner, One Reed, Two Flint Knife, Three House, Four Rabbit, and so on, so describing circles by means of these characters, until each one attained thirteen years. These, altogether, make up four times thirteen and equal fifty-two years. The purpose or intention of this count is to renew, every fifty-two years, the covenant, contract, or vow, to serve the idols. Because at the end of the fifty-two-year [cycle] they observed a very solemn feast and made new fire, and extinguished all the old [fires]. And all the provinces of this New Spain took of this new fire. Then they renewéd all the statues of the idols and all of their adornment, as well as the intention of serving them for the next fifty-two years. And also they had a prophecy or oracle of the devil that at [the end of] one of these periods the world would come to an end.

The third count which these natives used was the art of divination of the fortune or luck which those born would have, whether men or women. It was done in this way. They had twenty characters. The first they named Crocodile, the second Wind, the third House, the fourth Lizard, the fifth Serpent, etc., up to twenty, as is represented in the chart at the end of this Appendix.* They said that each of these characters reigned thirteen days, so that all together are two hundred and [sixty] days. Some say that these thirteen-day [periods] are weeks of the month, but this is not so. Rather they are the number of days in which the sign or character reigneth. The weeks of the month are of five days, and so there are, in each month, four weeks; and the *tianquiztli*, or markets, are fixed according to this number of days, or used to be so fixed. So that by periods of five days they established the markets or fairs. And so they had no weeks [of seven days], but rather periods of five days. And nowadays, in many places, they set the markets and fairs according to our seven-day weeks. In this illicit soothsaying

hazia la parte del septendrion en respecto del circulo. El tercero caracter era vna pintada que ellos llaman ce calli, esta puesta hazia la parte del occidente, en respecto del circulo. El quarto caracter es la semejança de vn conejo que ellos llaman ce tochtli: esta puesto hazia la parte del medio dia, en respecto del circulo: contauan por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada vno de los caracteres treze años, y contauan desta manera, ce acatl, vme tecpatl, ei calli, navi tochtli, y ansi dando bueltas, por estos caracteres, hasta que en cada vno se cumpliessen treze años, los quales todos juntos, son quatro vezes treze que hazen cincuenta y dos años: el fin o intencion desta cuenta es, renouar cada cincuenta y dos años, el pacto, o concierto, o juramento de servir a los idolos. Porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años, hazian vna muy solemne fiesta, y sacauan fuego nueuo, y apagauan todo lo viejo y tomauan todas las proujncias desta nueua españa fuego nueuo; entonce renouauan todas las estatuas de los idolos y todas sus alhajas, y el proposito de seruirlos otros cincuenta i dos años. Y tambien tenjan profecia o oraculo del demonjo, que en vno destos periodos se auja de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales vsauan, era el arte para adiujnar la fortuna o uentura, que tendrian los que nacian hombres y mugeres. Era desta manera que tenjan viente caracteres: al primero llamauan cipactli, el segundo hecatl, el tercero calli, el quarto cuetzpali, el quinto coatl. &c. hasta viente como esta pintado en la figura, que esta al fin deste apēdiz: dezian que cada vno destos caracteres, reinaua treze dias, que todos juntos son dozientos y setenta [*sic*] dias. Algunos dizen que estos treze dias son semanas del mes y no es ansi sino numero de dias en que reina el signo o caracter: las semanas de los meses son cinco dias y ansi ay en cada mes quatro semanas y los tianquez, o mercados por este numero de dias se señalla, [*sic*] o solian señallarse, que de cinco en cinco dias hechauā los mercados, o ferias, y ansi no tenjan semana, sino quintana, y agora en muchas partes hechan los mercados y ferias por nuestra semana de siete en siete dias. En esta cuenta adiujnatoria i no licita entreponense los caracteres de la cuenta de los años; conviene a saber, aquellos quatro caracteres de que arriba se hizo mencion, que es caña,

* See Plates 102-104.

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count are interspersed the characters of the year-count; that is, those four characters mentioned above, which are Reed, Flint Knife, House, and Rabbit, by which they counted the hebdomad of their years, which is fifty-two.

This very pernicious count, superstitious, and full of idolatry, as is to be seen in this Fourth Book, some praise highly, saying that it was very ingenious and contained no blemish. This they said because they did not understand for what purpose this count, which is very evil and idolatrous, was established. Little did they appreciate the multitude of superstitions, feasts, and idolatrous sacrifices involved in it. And they called this count the calendar of the Indians, not understanding that this count doth not extend through all of the year; because it hath only two hundred and sixty days in its round, and then cometh back to its beginning. And so it cannot be and never was a calendar; for the calendar, as hath been said, is represented in the opening of the Second Book, and containeth all the days of the year, and [all] the feasts of the year. And this they who say that this soothsaying art is a calendar, do not know. And surely it was great carelessness and culpable ignorance to praise by word of mouth and in writing something so evil and full of idolatry.

The zeal for truth and for the Catholic Faith compels me to place here the very words of a treatise which a member of one of the religious Orders wrote in praise of this art of soothsaying, declaring that it is a calendar; so that wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and it may be destroyed and burned.

The following is the introduction of the aforementioned treatise.

**Introduction and explanation, newly made, of the calendar of the Indians of Anauac, that is, of New Spain.**

By means of the wheels reproduced above, the Indians count their days, weeks, months, years, olympiads, five-year periods, indictions, and hebdomads, starting their year, like ours, with the beginning of January. In [their system] are found the means of reckoning time which all nations have had. And as is seen, the Indians who established and knew it well certainly showed themselves to be natural philosophers. They were at fault only as to the leap year.

pedernal, casa, conejo, por donde contauan la hebdomada de sus años, que son cincuenta y dos.

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Esta cuenta muy perjudicial, y muy supersticiosa, y muy llena de idolatria, como parece en este libro quarto, algunos la alaban mucho: diziendo, que era muy ingenjosa y que njnguna macula tenja, esto dizerō por no entender a que fin se endereza, esta cuenta el qual es muy malo ydolatrico de poco entendieron la muchedumbre de supersticiones y fiestas y sacrificios idolatricos, que en ella se contienen, y llamaron a esta cuenta, el calendario de los indios: no entendiendo que esta cuenta no alcança a todo el año, porque no tiene mas doscientos y sesenta dias de circulo, y luego torna a su principio, y ansi no poede ser calendario y nj nunca lo fue, porque el calendario, como esta dicho, y esta pintado, en el principio del segundo libro, contiene todos los dias del año, y las fiestas del año: y esto ignoraron los que dizen que esta arte adiujnatoria es calendario: y cierto fue grande inaduertencia, y culpable ignorancia loar por palabra, y por escrito vna cosa tan mala y tan llena de idolatria.

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El zelo de la verdad, y de la fe catholica, me compele a poner aquj, las mjsmas palabras de vn tratado, que vn religioso escriujo en loor desta arte adiujnatoria; diziendo que es calendario, para que dondequjera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy perjudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.

Siguese la introducion del tractado sobredicho.

**Introducion, i declaracion nueuamente sacada, que es el calendario de los indios de Anaoac, esto es de la nueua españa.**

Por las ruedas aquj antepuestas, cuentan los indios sus dias, semanas, meses, años, olimpiadas lustros indiciones, y hebdomadas: començando su año, con el nuestro desde el principio de henero: en la qual se hallan las maneras de contar los tiempos que tuujeron todas las naciones, y segun parece los indios que la composieron, y sabian bien, ciertamente se mostraron philosopbos naturales, solamente faltaron en el bixesto: pero tambien paso el gran philosopho

[still] another [town]. So that the fourth period of five days was the feast of the god who was honored in the following month. The five days in addition to the three hundred and sixty of the complete year they regarded as idle and unlucky, and so did not take account of them for any purpose. But they kept track of all the days and all the months of the year, and of all the five-day periods of the year, which are four in each month.

These natives had another count which followeth neither the year-count, nor the months, nor the five-day periods, which may wrongly be called weeks. This count hath twenty characters, as is represented in the chart behind this page.[4] To each one of these characters they assigned thirteen days, during which one of these characters reigned. Thus each one reigned thirteen days, and the round which these characters with their days made, is of two hundred and sixty days. This round includeth one hundred and five days less than a year. The count was used to foretell the circumstances and events of life which those born [on given day signs] would have. It is a difficult count, full of error, and with no foundation of natural astrology. For the art of judiciary astrology, common among us, is founded upon natural astrology, which is in the signs and planets of the heavens and in their courses and aspects. But this art of soothsaying followeth, or is founded upon, some characters and numbers in which no natural foundation existeth, but [are] only an artifice made by the devil himself. Nor is it possible that any man could have made or invented this art. For it hath no foundation in any science nor in any natural order. Rather it appeareth to be a thing of fraud and deceit than rational or ingenious. I say it was fraud and deceit in order to dazzle and derange people of low capacity and little understanding. Notwithstanding, this art of soothsaying, or rather, diabolical fraud or deceit, was highly regarded; and those who knew and practised it were also greatly honored and esteemed. For they told of things to come, and were regarded as truthful by the populace, although they spoke no truth except by accident and mistake. This art followeth neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor five-year periods nor olympiads, as some, in their dreams, have said and erroneously affirmed.

4. See Plates 103 and 104.

tanario, era la fiesta del dios que se celebraua en el mes que se seguja: los cinco dias que son mas de los trezientos y sesenta de todo el año, tenjanlos por valdios, y haziagos: y ansi no hazian cuenta dellos para njnguna cosa. Pero cuenta tenjan con todos los dias del año, y con jndos los meses del año, y con todas las quintanas del año, que son quatro en cada mes.

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Otra cuenta tenjan, estos naturales que nj sigue la cuenta del año, nj de los meses, nj de las quintanas, que impropriamente se pueden dezir semanas. Esta cuenta, tiene viente caracteres, como esta pintado en la tabla, que esta detras desta hoja: a cada vno destos caracteres, atribuyan treze dias: en las quales reinaua uno destos caracteres: de manera que cada vno reinaua treze dias, y el circulo que estos caracteres con sus dias hazian, son dozientos y sesenta dias: el qual circulo, tiene ciento y cinco dias menos, que vn año. Esta cuenta se vsaua para adiujnar las condiciones, y sucesos de la vida, que tendrian los que naciessen. Es cuenta delicada, y muy mentirosa, y sin njngun fundamento de astrologia natural. Porque el arte de la astrologia judiciaria, que entre nosotros se vsa, tiene fundamento en la astrologia natural, que es en los signos, y planetas del cielo, y en los cursus y aspectos dellos. Pero esta arte adiujnatoria siguese o fundase en vnos caracteres, y numeros, en que njngun fundamento natural ay, sino solamente artificio fabricado, por el mesmo diablo, nj es posible que njngun hombre fabricasse, nj inventasse esta arte; porque no tiene fundamento, en njnguna sciencia, nj en njnguna razon natural: mas parece cosa de embuste y embaimjento, que no cosa razonal, nj artificiosa. Digo que fue embuste y embaimjento, para encandilar, y desatinar a gente de poca capazidad, y de poco entendimjento. No obstante esto, era tenjda en mucho, esta arte adiujnatoria o mas propriamente hablando embuste o embaimjento diabolico: y tambien los que la sabian, y vsauan erã muy hõrrados y tenjdos: porque dezian las cosas por venjr, y del vulgo eran tenjdos por verdaderos, aunque njnguna verdad dezian sino acaso, y por jerro. Esta arte, nj sigue años, nj meses, nj semanas, nj lustros, nj olimpiadas, como algunos soñando dixeron, y afirmaron falsamẽte.

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½ [see cat. 116, 119, 126r, 126s. - AMNH 145 ms]